

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"So far from the House of Commons representing the sense of the people of England, I have ever found, since I have been a Member of the House of Commons, that the most popular sentiment which can be expressed in that place, is a SENTIMENT OF CONTEMPT FOR THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, whose representatives they still profess to be. I do believe that the House of Commons is the *only spot in all the world where the people of England are spoken of with contempt*. There they are calumniated, there the characters of Englishmen are lightly spoken of, and their opinions and feelings set at nought. If this circumstance does not show you the necessity of *Parliamentary Reform*, there is nothing that I can say (were I to speak till night) which could convince you. I HOPE THE NATION HAS CEASED TO LOOK FOR ANY ADVANCEMENT FROM ANY CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION. We must look no more to parties, and be assured that we never can expect any measures really useful, until the people of England have their proper share in the constitution of their country."—BURDETT'S SPEECH AT A MEETING AT WESTMINSTER, 30TH MARCH, 1809.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

Barn-Elm Farm, 27th May, 1829.

GENTLEMEN,

A BAND of hired ruffians, assuming your names, assembled at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand, on Monday last, to celebrate what they called the *purity of election*. It is my intention to relate to you what took place on that day. This annual celebration has long been a most despicable farce, despised by every body whose good opinion is worth having. BURDETT, the hero of the farce, has long been a notorious political apostate; and every one must see that he will, along with the system which he now upholds, very shortly be blown away for ever. But, in the meanwhile, it is useful

to expose the impostor from time to time; and, for this purpose, I publicly invited Mr. HUNT to join me at the Crown and Anchor on Monday last. It was not to be expected, that the impostors would not prepare themselves against the chance of being voted out of the Chair, and being bundled into the street; and, indeed, it was not to be expected that they would not, upon such an occasion, bleed pretty freely, in order to secure means of protecting themselves against expulsion from their own dunghill. These means they did upon this occasion most amply provide. Nobody, except a comparatively few persons that were apprised of our intention to be there; nobody but excessively corrupt or excessively foolish men, would voluntarily go to give countenance to such a notorious apostate. Therefore the company was composed almost entirely of people *hired* for the purpose of being there, and of preventing a vote of censure on the grand political apostate. The moment I went into the room, I was convinced, and told Mr. HUNT and several others, that it was an assemblage of fellows who had been hired and paid for being there. Since the dinner I have been assured, on what I think very good authority, that a hundred and forty pounds were laid out in *tickets to be given away*. I do not know this to be true; but I verily believe it to be true; and it rests upon evidence as good as that on which nine verdicts out of ten are given in courts of justice. At all the dinners which I have ever seen, the tables are filled by degrees, promiscuously, leaving vacant places here and there; but, upon this occasion, all the upper ends of all the four tables that run longways the room were filled completely before four o'clock, although the dinner did not take place till six. I, who was sitting on the elevated part, at the upper end of the room, and who had to sit there nearly an hour before the dinner began, had time to survey these people, who were, in appearance, all of

precisely the same stamp; middle-aged, shabby, and vulgar-looking men, tolerably clean, but having coarse linen, some of a yellow-looking hue and some extremely blue, and having coats the seams of which were rather white. I, who know where to look for the characteristics in such cases, looked at their hands, which were, generally, washed pretty clean; but I saw the deep veins with the dirt at the bottom still, and a certain roughness between the fore-finger and the thumb. They looked like people with whom a bellyful was a serious object; and I observed, that when looking at me they had an unanimous scowl on their visages. When the victuals came covered, they, before the signal was given for uncovering, and before the waiters came to uncover, lifted up the sides of the cover to peep under to enjoy the sight, as it were, beforehand; and when the covers were taken off, they pitched on in a way to convince you that the eating part of the affair was to be no sham. They gave proofs of *real* hunger, while the awkward manner in which they carved the articles proved that they were got amongst rarities. I saw one fellow endeavouring to cut a roast fowl asunder *crossways*, while another had his fork stuck in the neck end, to be ready to take away one of the halves. In the quarter where Mr. FRENCH was, he wanted to get at some fish, he being a Catholic, and it not being a meat day. They were all Catholics as far as related to the fish; and, unable to get any fish, he aimed at a piece of pudding, but a fellow had just then drawn the pudding up towards his body, and had bent his arm round it, so as to form a rampart against all assailants. With great begging, Mr. FRENCH got a piece of pudding about the size of an egg. Another gentleman, who was sitting in the neighbourhood of some salmon, of which he unfortunately happened to be very fond, was preparing his plate for a portion of it; but in the twinkling of an eye it was snapped up, the gentleman having the grief to behold no less than seven persons at one time, driving their knives and spoons into the salmon, and thrusting, or en-

deavouring to thrust, their plates up to the sides of the dish. So quick was this operation, that the waiters had not had time to put down the sauce, and when the sauce boats came, three in number, one of them was seized hold of by one of the hired brutes, and the whole of the contents tipped into his own plate, over the sides of which part of the sauce found its way upon the table. A gentleman has told me, and another told me the same thing in the room, that some of the fellows cut up the asparagus with their knives, and eat it *stumps* and all; which, however, is not quite so bad as the conduct of a Nova Scotian who once came to NEW YORK, and who began eating the asparagus at the wrong end. However, he had been brought up in a country where asparagus does not grow; there is not the same apology to be made for these brutes; and, indeed, if I had not seen it with my own eyes, no one could have made me believe, that an equal number of really ill-bred, greedy, really hoggish creatures, were to be found in England: I am sure that all NORTH AMERICA, from QUEBEC to the Gulph of Florida, does not contain, including *blacks*, two hundred of such unmannerly, and greedy, and indecent brutes, as I saw at the Crown and Anchor last Monday; and these are the wretches to whom O'CONNELL addressed himself as being the fair representatives of the whole of the people of England! There is no doubt in my mind at all of their having had the tickets given them; it was impossible that two hundred of such fellows should have had thirteen shillings a-piece to give for a dinner; and as to their being actuated by any public-spirited motive, the idea is ridiculous.

The decision of such a set of brutes amounts to nothing at all: knowing what they are, you know their decision; and, in short, this was a pack of hungry bribed blackguards, got together by some agent, some dirty agent or agents, for the express purpose of protecting the apostate from expulsion from his own dunghill. The health of Burdett was proposed by that contemptible political old buck, Daddy STURGEON. I saw

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no other member even of the rump. The gang seem to be entirely new, and of a much lower description than formerly, though God knows that was low enough. A gentleman has told me that he saw Galloway there; but he was very quiet: the steam affair, like all other affairs, feels, I fancy, the effect of the One-pound Note Bill. Things are coming to realities: the moonbeams are disappearing; and I dare say that FATHER GALLOWAY knows this as well as other people, and may probably be induced to reflect, that in this state of things he has not much to praise in the conduct of any Member of Parliament, who must have had a hand in producing those effects which are now so severely felt, and which will be much more severely felt in a very short time. I dare say that "FATHER" GALLOWAY, together with the greater part of his City colleagues, begins to feel that I am, after all, right, relative to this most interesting affair of the money. Thinking thus would naturally check the zeal of FATHER GALLOWAY on Monday last! The truth is, that the City of London is in what may be called a sweet mess. All their revenues have they mortgaged, completely mortgaged; and, like all other mortgagors, they have to pay a fixed sum in money of a higher value than that which they borrowed. I do not know any set of fellows more neatly fixed, than these swaggerers of the "*metropolis of the mighty British empire*," which about fourteen years ago was beaten by the Yankees single handed.

To return to the purity farce, after DADDY STURCH had proposed the health of the grand political apostate, one of whose solemn declarations I have taken as a motto to this Register; after this Mr. Hunt got up, and proposed to put three questions to little SANCHO, who was in the chair, which questions he stated in the following manner:

- "1. The House of Commons have, within the last five years, passed votes of public money, amounting to little short of *two millions*, for the building of palaces, and other such purposes.—Did Sir Francis

Burdett oppose any of these votes?"

- "2. The same House has passed a bill to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland.—Did Sir Francis ever oppose that bill?"
- "3. The same House has passed a bill to authorise overseers, hospital-keepers, and keepers of debtor prisons, to dispose of the dead bodies of the most unfortunate of the poor for the purpose of dissection.—Did Sir Francis Burdett oppose that bill?"

The DON not being present, Mr. HUNT put these same questions to SANCHO, who, at that time, declined answering the questions, and was proceeding to drink the health of the DON. This I directly opposed, and amidst a great deal of uproar insisted that it should be put to the vote, whether the DON's health should be drunk or not. It was with great difficulty that I obtained a hearing, for the brutes gave tongue simultaneously, like a set of choristers, when the giver out of the psalm waves his hand. The decision, of course, was for drinking the health of the apostate; but against it every independent man in the room held up his hand. After this, Sancho made a speech, in which he made no defence of himself or of the grand apostate; but, backed by his hired ruffians, incessantly cheered by them, he began, and for half an hour continued in a series of abuse and lies against me. He went over all the villanous lies of the DON, of the Old Times newspaper, of the hole-and-corner scoundrels of NORFOLK, and of all the wretches that have been calumniating me for the last ten years. I got up to answer the despicable liar; but it was impossible to obtain a hearing: so great a noise was constantly kept up, as to prevent me from being heard to a distance of three yards. I was, therefore, obliged to desist; and after hearing O'CONNELL speak, and being threatened with a speech from Lord NUGENT, I came home, for which I have been rather sorry since, as I am told that Mr. HARVEY made a speech upon several inte-

resting subjects, worth going a good way to hear, though I am surprised such a man does not perceive, that the effect of such a speech is lost in consequence of the place in which it was delivered, and particularly when the speaker is supposed to be present for the purpose of doing honour to a man, whose conduct shows him to be the enemy of all the principles inculcated by the speaker.

Mr. O'Connell's speech was a begging of support in his approaching contest for the county of Clare. *Support*, from whom? From the wretches to whom he was addressing himself? If, indeed, the CLARE election were to be carried by eating and bawling, and if he could get these two hundred fellows carried thither, to a certainty he would be chosen; but what support, other than this, was he to have from creatures like those. Twenty thousand pounds, indeed, of the old gouty DON's money might assist him, and if he could get GALLOWAY to apply some steam-engine to him, to mollify him so as to be able to extract any thing out of that steely person of his; if Mr. O'CONNELL could do this, then he might flatter himself of having English support at Clare; but, if he get one farthing out of the DON, I will give him leave to lay that farthing out in arsenic, and I would be bound to swallow it. This speech of Mr. O'CONNELL must not pass unnoticed; but let me finish what I intended to say about little SANCHO. He had the baseness, and others had the baseness, to sit silently by him while he was doing it, and the hired ruffians had the baseness to applaud him for it; he had the baseness to turn into ridicule, as well as he was able, the Bill which has been passed by the House of Commons, for authorizing the bodies of the most unfortunate of the poor to be *disposed* of by Overseers and others; and, all the world knows that to dispose of includes a bargaining and sale. The ruffians had the baseness to applaud this clumsy ridicule; and, though Mr. MONK, Mr. HARVEY, and others, who were sitting on the same bench with the SANCHO, did not applaud, certainly, this most brutal and infamous part of his harangue, they none of them expressly

condemned it, though I am informed, that these two gentlemen have interested themselves in the success of Mr. SCALES' petition on this subject. The truth is, and these gentlemen must have felt it while they were at the dinner, that soundness cannot associate with corruption, that these two cannot co-exist. These gentlemen have a great deal too much sense and experience, to be the dupes of a tricky fellow like the DON; they see what he is aiming at; but they imagine that they can do some good, by meeting a set of the common people, and speaking their sentiments freely to them. So they would, if they were to meet the people of Westminster out of doors; but no good can they do, no impression can they make on a set of base ruffians such as they had before them on Monday night. Besides, if these gentlemen really do wish for reform, how are they to expect to assist in retaining it by giving countenance to a couple of fellows that have barefacedly abandoned the cause for many years past; and who now trick up this annual meeting for no purpose, other than that of deceiving the unsuspecting or foolish part of the public?

There was a Mr. ALEXANDER DAWSON, who was sent to Parliament by the forty-shilling Freeholders of Louth, in Ireland. This Gentleman, in proposing the health of SANCHO, had no instance of his services to produce, no proof of the purity of his principles, except that he had laboured most ably and zealously in the cause of those who wished to call select vestries to account; which was as much as to tell us, that he would make an excellent overseer, or hospital-keeper; and, as DAWSON himself told us, that he would as leave have his body dissected as not; and as SANCHO told us the same, with regard to his short body, here was exhibited before us a brace of most excellent overseers. But DAWSON spoke *rather too long*, and very inopportunistly slipped into an awkward declaration. In defending the DON, and others, for not bringing forward the question of Reform, he said, that the members of the House, who were favourable to Reform, regarded it as useless to bring it forward,

"seeing that a financial crisis was at hand, which would make a total change, and which, amongst other things, would produce a Reform!" Little SANCHE, who had cheered DAWSON while he was talking about the vestries, and about the harmlessness of cutting up the dead bodies, now looked at him with uncommon ferocity, for so small an animal, Dawson did not recollect that SANCHE's father has had, at the public charge, twelve hundred a-year, and a house to live in, for the last thirty years of his life; and that, if that sum of money, and the rent of that house, had remained in the hands of the people, instead of going into the hands of the family of SANCHE, that people would now have amongst them (the interest being included) about 120,000*l.* more than they now have. Mr. DAWSON forgot, too, that SANCHE's father had been a paper-money-maker for above forty years past, and that he is the same unto this day; besides being a big brewer, in the company of Whitbread and Co. He forgot, too, I dare say, that Reform-loving SANCHE had just been spliced on to a sprig of nobility. I do not suppose that these things had been forgotten by Mr. HARVEY and Mr. CAVE; who, after I came away, did, I am told, properly characterize the aristocracy, and the base and infamous oligarchy: these GENTLEMEN knew all about the family and other concerns of SANCHE; but Mr. DAWSON had forgotten them, or else he would not express satisfaction at the approach of a financial crisis, that would inevitably produce a radical change. When DAWSON uttered these words; when he said, that the reformers in the House of Commons were waiting to see the thing go to pieces, SANCHE looked at him as if he could have cut up his carcass; and well he might, for he will have his seat at Westminster, and the Dox along with him; and SANCHE's father will have 1200*l.* a-year, and a house, and there will be an annual purity dinner at the Crown and Anchor, just as long as Old SANCHE can keep a paper-money shop, and not one minute longer.

I now return to the speech of Mr. O'CONNELL, first stating clearly what

took place between him and me before the dinner began. Mr. LAWLESS came to me to propose that I should go out of the dining-room and meet Mr. O'CONNELL in another room, in order to shake hands with him; and Mr. LAWLESS came to me, having had a previous understanding upon the subject with Mr. O'CONNELL. I, accompanied by Mr. HUNT, Mr. LAWLESS, Mr. FRENCH, and Mr. NICHOLSON, went out into another room, into which Mr. O'CONNELL immediately afterwards came. Upon being brought close to one another, I said, "Mr. O'CONNELL, it has been proposed to me to come here to shake hands with you, which I never will do, until you retract or disavow the expressions which the newspapers have ascribed to you, vilifying my private character." To this Mr. O'CONNELL answered, "I have nothing, nothing to retract upon the subject, for I never uttered the expressions that you allude to, and which the newspapers have ascribed falsely to me." I said, "Very well, that's enough." I shook hands with him, and returned to the dining-room with Mr. HUNT and the other gentlemen.

I have before noticed the tenour of the speech of Mr. O'CONNELL. His main object was to convince his hearers that no public man could do any thing effectual to serve the people, unless the people came forth and supported him. This is not exactly so; for I could mention a man, and indeed two or three men, who have done a great deal for the people without receiving any thing like the name of support from those same people. However, Mr. O'CONNELL was talking to people from whom he would extract a thousand cart-loads of sovereigns as easily as he could get even a wish from them, for his success at CLARE. There was one part of his speech which was consummately inconsistent, to apply to it no harsher epithet; namely his unqualified eulogium on BURDETT. He could not believe what he said: that is impossible; or, if he did believe it, he must be the weakest of all mankind. Mr. O'CONNELL's object was to get the support of the people of England, upon

the ground of his being an *advocate for Radical Reform*. On this ground he asks for the support of the people of England; and he, at the very same time, praises to the skies, makes himself a steward in honour of, the grand apostate of the cause of Radical Reform. In every possible way in which a man can show himself an apostate to this cause, the DON has showed himself an apostate; and an apostate, too, on all the collateral points connected with reform. For years he dealt in assertions such as those contained in the extract which I have taken as a motto to the present Register; yet, he stuck his knees in the back of CANNING, while that mortal enemy of reform was declaring that he never would give his assent to Parliamentary Reform. The transaction was this. The DON having first crossed the house, and placed himself close at the back of CANNING, said, that "putting aside all the great questions mentioned by an honourable member, including those of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, he saw sufficient reason to support the administration of Mr. Canning," whom he called his Right Honourable Friend; whereupon CANNING rose and said, "I am asked what I mean to do on the subject of Parliamentary Reform; why, I say, to oppose it; to oppose it to the end of my life in this House under whatever shape it may appear." This transaction took place on the 4th of May, 1827; and yet the DON supported this CANNING unto the end of this fellow's life. But this abandonment of the cause of Reform was not enough: to this he must add his endeavours, which have at last proved successful, to take away the right of voting from the poorer part of the people of Ireland, and from those especially by whom Mr. O'CONNELL was elected; and yet, this very Mr. O'CONNELL praises this apostate politician, this disfranchiser of his own electors, and pretends to believe the apostate is a radical reformer.

This apostate did, for many years, represent the great families as the curse of the country; and, in an address to

the Electors of Westminster in the year 1807, he assured them that nothing should be wanting on his part to tear out the accursed leaves of the scandalous red book; and this same fellow has, within this very month of May asserted that the *right of primogeniture* has been and is now the greatest blessing to the country. For years did this fellow rail against the standing army, and against every thing military; but, seeing a military commander at the head of the government, he has recently declared, that *military men are more fit than any others* to be entrusted with the *civil affairs* of the country! and yet, with a full knowledge of all these facts, Mr. O'CONNELL eulogises this matchless apostate, in order to flatter a set of brutes, whom he must know, unless he were blind, were fed cost free, for the purpose of shouting for this unprincipled apostate. Mr. O'CONNELL was sincere upon this occasion, or he was not: if the latter, let him take the reward due to insincerity: if the former, God Almighty forbid that I should wish him success in any thing, and particularly in his endeavour to get re-elected for CLARE; for, if I praise a man for his public conduct, it is not to be presumed of me (supposing me to be sincere) that I will imitate that conduct as far as I can. Mr. O'CONNELL was fully apprised of all the conduct of Burdett: he knew well how he had betrayed the reformers: he was aware of all his aristocratical declarations: he knew well all that I have here told about him; and if he could *praise him*, having that knowledge of him, should we not be beasts indeed to expect from Mr. O'CONNELL himself any conduct other than such, which resembled the conduct of the DON?

Mr. O'CONNELL had a difficulty to deal with: he wished to disarm my hostility; and yet he wished, and particularly when he saw the complexion of the company, to have the DON and his friends on his side. When he saw the well-crammed ruffians barking at me, he took shelter under the wings of his apostasy. He does not seem to have perceived that the people of England have no feeling in common with this band of

greatest guttlers: he heard my challenge to SANCHO to bring the apostate to meet me out of doors before the people; but, unable to resist the desire of obtaining a shout even from this hired breath, he applauded the apostate. It is in vain for him, or for any body else to preach to me, or to the main body of the people of England, the policy of being reconciled to this apostate. Mr. LAWLESS, with whose conduct upon this occasion I have every reason to be satisfied, is quite mistaken if he suppose that there can be any reconciliation between the apostate and those who detest his conduct. The apostate's day is over: if he had the will, he has not the power of doing us any good: he has no weight with anybody: he is, apparently, seeking for a title, or for something or another from the minister, and nobody cares a straw about him, his future progress being rather of curiosity than of interest. I do not see very clearly how Mr. O'CONNELL is to receive any support from the people of England; but, if it were possible that he should receive this support under any circumstances, it is quite impossible that he should receive it as long as he shall continue to make common cause with this odious political apostate, to put trust in whom is, to give proof either of downright imbecility, or of corrupt intention the most decided.

Just before Mr. O'CONNELL made his speech, SANCHO read a letter from the Don, apologising for his absence, and enclosing a certificate from Sir HENRY HALFORD, specifying that the Don was too ill to attend. The letter was in the following words:—

"Gentlemen,—It is very mortifying to me, instead of having the honour of attending you in person, to transmit to you the enclosed. I had flattered myself, up to the present moment, with the hope of being able to preside, as usual, at our Anniversary. A painful disease, however, quite incapacitates me, and leaves me no choice, nothing but submission to inevitable necessity. I feel this the more, as it is the first opportunity which has ever presented itself to me, of honestly praising a Mi-

nister, and of congratulating my constituents on the successful issue of a great public measure, establishing for ever the great and paramount principle of religious liberty, removing what would be an eternal stumbling block out of the way of public improvement, and opening a fair prospect to the public of great future advantages. The army of principles are on their march; no force on earth will be able long to withstand their progress, until they have reached their natural termination in the establishment of justice and liberty all over the world.

"I remain," &c.

So that while Mr. O'CONNELL was, in his address to the people of Clare, censuring the conduct of the Minister, here was BURDETT, one of whose Stewards O'CONNELL was, lamenting that he could not be present to praise the Minister, lamenting his absence the more because it deprived him of an opportunity of praising the Minister. There stands Mr. O'CONNELL censuring the Minister to the well-crammed company; there is BURDETT's letter lamenting that he cannot be there to praise the Minister; and there is O'CONNELL praising Burdett; and there is the group of well-crammed ruffians bestowing shouts of applause on Burdett and O'CONNELL both! Any thing so inconsistent; any thing so barefacedly base; any thing so well calculated to make the public despise all the parties, could not have been devised by the wit of man.

That BURDETT has something in view by this praise bestowed upon the DUKE of WELLINGTON is clear enough; and, I dare say he mentioned his intended praise lest he should be supposed to favour the views of Mr. O'CONNELL, whom he must know, that the Minister has doomed to exclusion as far as exclusion lies in his power. This was the view with which the Don put this phrase into his letter; and, observe, he takes care to put down not one word about reform; not one single word to offend the Minister: he praises the great measure of the Minister: and as to the public improvement and the "army of

principles," and the establishment of liberty and justice all over the world; these, whatever else they may mean, are all complimentary to the Minister. It is said, I do not know with what truth, that the political apostate is fishing for a peerage; and for his comfort I can tell him, he won't get it, in spite of his doctrine that military men are the fittest men for Ministers.

I must dismiss this subject for the present; for really *high matter* presses forward. I shall probably return to it next week; and in the mean while I am, Gentlemen,

Your most faithful friend, and
most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

THE MONEY AFFAIR.

TO THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

MY LORD DUKE,

I HAVE read your speech, on the presenting of the Birmingham Petition by the EARL of CARNARVON, in the House of Lords, on Tuesday the 26th instant. Before I proceed to offer you any remarks on that speech, I will here insert my own petition on the subject which was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. DENISON some days back, and which was in the following words:

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

THE PETITION OF WILLIAM COBBETT, OF BARNES, IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

That your petitioner has, at different times within the last twenty years, and particularly by two petitions, the one dated in Long Island, in the year 1818, and the other dated at Kensington in 1826, humbly endeavoured to warn your Hon. House of the fatal consequences that must ultimately arise from the system of paper-money, unless prevented by a great and timely reduction of taxes.

That these fatal consequences are now visibly approaching, and have, in part, actually arrived; that insolvency pervades the proprietors in every branch of trade, manufactures, and commerce; that their work-people are in a state of misery the most deplorable; that the farmers are too poor to stock and

till the land in a good manner; and that beggary, rags, and thieving, are become the characteristics of the formerly decent and honest labouring classes.

That, throughout England, the poor-rates amount to a full fourth of the rack rental of all the houses, lands, mines, and all other real property; that there are three paupers to every five houses; and that, while the farmers are unable to find employment for the labourers, and while schemes are proposed to your Honourable House for getting rid of what gross ignorance calls a "*surplus population*," there are, on an average, agreeably to Returns now in the hands of your Honourable House, forty acres of land to every able agricultural labourer in the country.

That, painful as is the reflection, and reluctant as your most humble petitioner is to state the fact, he nevertheless thinks it his duty to declare his firm belief, that this lamentable and disgraceful state of things has arisen entirely from, and is, in fact, the creation of, Acts passed by your Honourable House.

That, by these Acts a debt has been contracted, to pay the annual interest of which demands a sum greater in amount than that of the whole of the rack rental of the kingdom; that the sums, composing this debt, were, for the greater part, borrowed in a depreciated paper-money; that this fact was distinctly acknowledged by your Hon. House when you, solely on the ground of such depreciation, greatly augmented the salaries of placemen, the pay of the army, the allowances to the Royal Family and other payments out of the taxes, doubling the sums in some cases, and, in others, augmenting them three or four-fold.

That, after the debt had thus been contracted, and after these augmentations had been made, your Hon. House passed, in 1819, an Act to cause the money of the country to be raised in value; that, in 1822, your Hon. House passed an Act to cause the money to be lowered in value; and that, in 1826, your Hon. House passed a third Act to cause money again to be raised in value; and that this last-mentioned Act is, at this time, beginning to operate.

That your humble petitioner will not, for a moment, appear to suppose that your Honourable House can need to be told that, by raising the value of money, you did, in fact, add to the interest of the debt, and to the amount of all the salaries, pensions, sinecures, allowances, and grants. That the degree in which your Honourable House made this addition was such, that the fund-owner, placeman, the pensioner, or the like, received, in consequence of the above change in the value of money, double the amount of what he received before that change; and that thus your Hon. House did, in reality, double the amount of all the taxes.

That (to take an illustration) it appears from a Return made to your Honourable House, and printed by your order, that, in

1808, the Members of your Honourable House (exclusive of fifteen of whose receipts no return was ever made) actually received annually *one hundred and seventy-eight thousand and nine hundred and ninety-four pounds out of the public money*; that, when the value of money was doubled (as it was in the year 1822 and as it now again is) the Members of your Honourable House received, and now receive, annually *three hundred and fifty-seven thousand and nine hundred and eighty-eight pounds*; that this insolvent and miserable people have now, in fact, to pay to Members of your Honourable House the latter sum instead of the former; and that to this cause, operating in all the branches of expenditure in the same way and degree, the nation owes all those calamities which it is now enduring, and will owe those far greater calamities which, unless an efficient remedy be speedily applied, will assuredly fall upon it.

That your humble petitioner is persuaded that there is in this whole world no man to be found capable of denying that, when your Honourable House doubled the value of the money in which the payments were made to the Members of your Honourable House, justice towards the people demanded a corresponding diminution in the nominal amount of the sum, and, of course, a corresponding reduction in the amount of the taxes; and that that same justice demanded a similar reduction of the interest of the Debt and of all salaries, pay, pensions, allowances, sinecures, and grants; for that, unless such reduction took place, the receivers of the taxes must, in a short time, possess all the property in the country, spreading poverty, ruin, and misery all around them.

That your humble petitioner begs to be permitted to remind your Honourable House, that, when the Small-note Bill of 1826 (the effects of which are now so severely felt) was under discussion, he, in a petition presented on the 20th of February of that year, most earnestly besought your Honourable House to make a very great reduction in the taxes, stating, that "he knew as well as he knew that fire burned, that if gold and silver really became the circulating money of England, more than half the present nominal amount of taxes could not be levied without producing ruin and wretchedness absolutely insupportable."

That, though your Honourable House did not condescend to listen to this urgent supplication of your humble petitioner, he is not without hope, that you will now, when you behold the event so fearfully making good his forebodings, be graciously disposed to lend an ear to his respectful representations and his most fervent prayers.

That your humble petitioner, though he perceives that the Act of 1826 is, in a great degree evaded, though he is well aware of the *cheques* for small sums, though he knows how powerful and how general are the interests that oppose themselves to the due execution

of this Act decreeing the extinction of the small notes; that though well aware of all these, your humble petitioner knows that these contrivances will not avail for any length of time; that he knows that the small notes must all disappear in the course of a few months; that he knows that it will be very difficult to cause five-pound notes to circulate without one-pound notes; that he knows, that as the five-pound notes which were issued in 1793, and the three following years, would not circulate in company with gold, so he knows that the gold will again have the same antipathy to the same company; that he knows that, when the one-pound notes shall have been wholly extinguished, the five-pound notes will not circulate to any extent; that he knows, that in this case, the country must come back to the prices of 1793; and that, therefore, unless taxes be greatly reduced, he knows, that long before these shall have become the settled prices of the country, little or no rent will be paid to landowners, men in trade will be utterly ruined, and want and violence will produce their natural results.

That it is well known, it is obvious to common sense, that the welfare of every community must depend on productive labour receiving just remuneration; that labour is property, and that not to pay for it when received, or to take from its produce, is to destroy, or set at nought, the vital principles of property; that to take from those who labour and give to those who do not labour, is to put a band round the arms, and prevent the blood from flowing into the hands, while the hands, thus benumbed, are called upon to produce food for the body; that in whatever degree a man *pays* without receiving to his own use the *worth in return*, he is *the poorer*; that what a man pays in taxes has no channel whereby to return to him other than the channels by which he may expect the return of money lost by him at the gaming-table, or on the highway.

That as in whatever degree a man pays without receiving to his own use the worth in return, he must in that degree be poor, it inevitably follows, that in whatever degree the great mass of the people pay without receiving to their own use the worth in return, they must also be the poorer; and your most humble petitioner begs leave to think, that from these premises it again inevitably follows, that taxes, in proportion to their amount, produce straitened means in some of the classes of society, poverty in other classes, actual want of a sufficiency of food and raiment in a third, and extreme misery, bordering on starvation, and accompanied with numerous crimes, and occasional madness, and death, in the lowest and most numerous class of all; whence it has come to pass in our unhappy country, that taxes, public debts, standing armies, military staffs and colleges, lists of placemen and placemen and pensioners, police establishments, penal laws, poor-houses, jails, and new modes and means of hanging and transporting, have all gone on increasing together.

That, on the grounds and for the reasons here respectfully submitted to your Honourable House, your humble petitioner, while he repeats an expression of his profound gratitude to your Honourable House for persevering in your laudable design to restore to the people the security given by the King's coin, most humbly but most earnestly prays your Honourable House to reduce the taxes to an amount not exceeding that which was their amount before the small paper-money supplanted the coin of his Majesty, seeing that, as to the means of meeting the national expenditure, after such reduction, those means have been clearly pointed out to your Honourable House by the sensible and public-spirited people of the County of Norfolk, in their humble petition presented to, and received by your Honourable House, in the month of February, 1823.—And your humble petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

Barnes, May 12, 1829.

Now, my LORD DUKE, the Birmingham Petition, in as far as it related to the cause of the distress, and to the nature of that distress, was the same in substance as this petition of mine; but as to the remedy, the Birmingham people differ completely from me, and, I am happy to say, from you also; for while you do not say that *you will not adopt my remedy*, namely that of taking off the taxes, you do say that *you will not adopt theirs*; that is to say, that you will not suffer the accursed paper-money again to come forth. Six Banks have broken within this fortnight, though the newspapers have never spoken of but three. No matter for that: the thing goes on working well, and the declaration now made by you, must give satisfaction to every true friend of the country. To let the paper out again upon us would be to ensure the ruin of the country: there must be Bank-Restriction, assignats, and two prices; and something very much like general revolution. These must take place if you suffer the worthless rags to come forth again. I therefore do most cordially applaud the resolution which you have declared, to adhere to the Bill. But, my LORD DUKE, I cannot agree with you with regard to the cause of the distress. I agree with you heartily that the fundholders ought to be paid in full tale, and in gold of full weight and fineness;

but I cannot agree with you with regard to the *cause* of the distress. You say, that the alteration in the currency has had little or nothing to do in the producing of that distress; that it must have been produced by something else; and then you go on to tell us of the speculations, of the change in the national mind, of the increase of population, of the increase of machinery, of the over production of manufactures. This, my Lord Duke, is so completely unintelligible to me; and it is, in my view of the matter, so absurd and contemptibly ridiculous, that I must be next door to an idiot, or you must be something which I will not attempt to describe. I know that there have been extravagant speculations, or gambings; I know very well that immense sums have been lost by foreign loans; I am fully aware of all the mischiefs of a false money; but, my Lord Duke, when I know that, before there was any talk of doing away with the small notes, wheat was, upon an average of years, fifteen shillings a bushel; that, as soon as it became probable that the small notes could be put an end to, wheat fell to an average of *eight shillings a bushel*; that when the death of the small notes was enacted, and before we got within eight months of the point of the death, wheat fell to four shillings and sixpence the bushel; that when the small notes were put out again, and their existence for eleven years was decreed, wheat went gradually on rising, till it got to be ten shillings a bushel; that when their death was decreed again to take place at the end of three years, wheat immediately began to fall; and that now, after the shortest crop, and the worst harvest almost ever known, English wheat hardly exceeds seven shillings a bushel, though the small notes are only in part withdrawn, and though the law is violated all over the country; when I know that the distress at this time is great, general, and far surpassing what it was in 1822, I cannot be made to believe that the alteration of the currency *has had nothing at all to do with the distress*! However, you chose to take your office, though I had offered to take it; and, therefore, it is not my

business to take any particular pains to convince you of your error.

Have you, my LORD DUKE, seen any of the nice little CHECKS that the suppression, or rather part suppression, of the one-pound notes have given rise to? I will here treat you to the sight of a copy of one of them; and that, too, issued and signed by a brother DUKE! It is in form as follows:

Welbeck, 4th May 1829.

No. 248.

Sir W. B. Cooke, Bart., Foljambe, & Co.
Please to pay to Mr. Sam. Field, or Bearer, the sum of one pound sterling, and place it to the account of

£1 0s. 0d.
Your humble servant,
SCOTT PORTLAND.

Sir W. B. Cooke, Bart., Foljambe, & Co.

You will please to observe, my Lord Duke, that the parts which are in italics are, in the original, in writing, and the other parts, except the figures representing the number and the sum, are in print. You will please to observe, also, that, on the 4th May the number had amounted to two hundred and forty-eight; and that, therefore, this is likely to be a pretty extensive concern. Nor is this instance a singular one: this species of paper-money is now under the anvil in all parts of the country. You say in your speech, that we have no need of any thing but sovereigns and five-pound notes; you say that there are plenty of these; you say that there are more sovereigns and five-pound notes than there ever were before. This may be very true, for there never were any sovereigns till long after the end of the war. But, if there be such plenty of sovereigns, why does the Duke of Portland resort to these CHECKS? Great men do not like to issue drafts like these. Talk of forgery, indeed, where is there a printer and a printer's devil, who cannot make, sign, and issue things like this? They cannot, indeed, without risk, sign the Duke of Portland's name; but, how easily might they puff him out! The check is printed upon a piece of common writing-paper, and the character in which the printing is made is found in every printing-office; any body may fill

it up with a pen, leave the signature unexecuted till a convenient opportunity, then execute it to a hundred CHECKS at a time, drop the checks about the road, and let the people find them: there is uproar in the neighbourhood immediately. And, do you think that while shifts like these are resorted to, people will believe that there are plenty of sovereigns in the country? However, as I said before, you chose to take the office, when I had offered myself to fill it: you receive the salary: you possess the patronage: you have all the honour and all the advantages; and, therefore, if there be any trouble belonging to the thing, to you that trouble appertains, and not to me, who would have prevented the DUKE of PORTLAND from being pestered with the inconvenience of signing bits of paper like these.

My LORD DUKE, you really know nothing of the state of the country; and you know, if possible, still less than nothing of this important subject. I say not this in the way of insult to you or in disparagement of your talents. It is a subject which you have never had time to discuss with yourself. It is a subject not only requiring uncommon clearness of head, but a great deal of time for reflection. That time you have never had; and you are beset with people who are, at one and the same time, profoundly ignorant men, and who have an interest in deceiving you; that is to say, they have an interest in telling you that which you like to hear. If this were not the case, and if you had read that which I have addressed to you since you have been a minister, it would have been impossible for you to talk in the way in which you have in this speech, or in the way in which the newspapers have represented you to have spoken. However, again I say, you took the place out of my hands, or rather took it over my offer, and be all the merit your own. The people huzza you; they do not grudge you the immense sums which they pay you. They prefer you, at about 30,000*l.* a-year, to me, at a sum sufficient to buy me bread and cheese, and therefore let them not grumble at the effect of your measures. I am not

joking here at all : I do not say this in the way of jest : I was quite serious when I made an offer of my services to the king. I told him, at the time, that I did it without much hope of being employed by him, but in order to be *free from all blame* when the country should be plunged into ruin by other people. That it will be plunged into ruin every body now sees. If I had been minister it would not have been plunged into ruin ; you have the honour, the power, and the pay, and be yours the blame.

I perceive that LORD CARNARVON wishes you to think of some remedy before the next Session of Parliament ; and I perceive that you have told him that you will think of the matter. If you be determined not to adopt any measure upon this subject until the Parliament meet again, I would advise you to dismiss this Parliament immediately, and to call another next week or the week after. However, as I have so often said, the affair is yours, and not mine. I would show you how sweetly the thing works ; how it is going on beggaring the whole country, except the tax-eaters ; I could prove to you how it must necessarily become worse and worse until wheat comes down to about three or four shillings a bushel ; I could prove to you how this very One Pound note Bill in England will lower prices in France, aye, at PHILADELPHIA, PETERSBURGH, CONSTANTINOPLE, and even at PEKIN ; but, once more, I say the affair is yours, and not mine.

All that I am anxious about is, that you should persevere, and force this Bill into full effect, and there keep it. I ask you to take off more than half of the taxes, at the same time ; but that is your own affair too : what I beg and beseech you to do is, to carry the Bill into full effect, and to keep it there ; and then I shall see most appropriate punishment inflicted on many thousands of the basest blackguards that ever were suffered to disgrace the face of the earth. Flies, in an uninhabited room, twisted up in cobwebs by spiders, are not more numerous, or not more properly punished, than will be the vagabonds that the Small Note

Bill, if carried into full effect, will twist up in the course of one year.

Before I conclude, let me observe, that Mr. Thomas Attwood, in his speech at the Birmingham Meeting, praised the "hero, of Waterloo" to the skies, and expressed his full confidence, that you, who had achieved so many victories, would not flinch here, but would have courage to give the country *fresh bales of paper money!* That is to say, that you would give way, skulk, slink, run away, turn tail, decamp, like a poltroon, at the coming of a set of blackguard rag-rooks. I rejoice to perceive that you have resolved on the contrary, for which I beg you to accept my most hearty thanks. Mr. Attwood has always insisted, that a reform of the Parliament was revolution. Five hundred Parliament men were assembled to hear O'CONNELL ; and forty could not be got together to hear the Birmingham Petition upon the distresses of the country. That's right : that is what ought to be : that is proper payment to Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, who may now praise you as long as he pleases, and praise the unreformed Parliament as long as he pleases. Nothing can do us any good but the destruction of the infamous paper : the five-pound notes will not go long without the ones : we shall come back to the prices of 1793 ; or go further back still ; and we shall see corruption torn up by the roots. What fools BURDETT and GRAHAM, and all that set, will look like ! They will not know what to do, or what to say : they will down upon their knees to you, before the present year is out, to induce you to give way : but if I have any weight with you—if the most sincere prayers for your success can prevail on you to persevere, I have a right to beseech you to go on, and to march at the head of that "army of principles" (to borrow a phrase from the DON), which have hitherto made you and me so victorious. I beseech you not to desist from the course in which you are ; I beg you to pursue your present path, and not to suffer villanous Jews and Quakers to delude you from it. The people of London say, with you, that the Small Note

Bill cannot have produced the distress; because (and I beseech you to observe this because) there were no small notes in London, when London was so prosperous, in the years 1824 and 1825! Sensible people! Thinking people! Then there is one TOOKE, a tallow-merchant, that writes book after book, to show that small notes have nothing to do with the matter, and wishes that there were no notes under 20l.; and whose books I am certain you have been reading! Well, read away: read TOOKE; believe TOOKE; stick to TOOKE: have Tooke's picture in the Treasury. Tooke is a good fellow: but, my Lord Duke, above all things, stick to the One Pound Note Bill; then I shall see just punishment upon vagabonds, that no law has ever been able to reach: stick to the Small Note Bill, and accept the everlasting thanks of

WM. COBBETT.

BODY-SELLING BILL.

On Tuesday night the Bishop of London presented to the House of Lords a petition, of which the following is a copy. We, who signed this petition, sent it to the Bishop of London to present, because we thought him the properest person to do it. He appears to have done it in a very quiet manner; but it also appears that he did it, and I beg leave to request the reader's attention to it; and to request him also to pay attention to the conduct of the whole of the clergy in this case. I also think it necessary to observe that Carlile has come forward, not only to defend, but to eulogise this Bill! Now if we should find the Law Church Bishops and Carlile to agree with regard to the selling and cutting-up the dead bodies of the poor, it would be something worthy of being put upon record. CARLILE, in the fulness of his zeal, has published a two-penny pamphlet, containing an eulogium on this measure, and he states that the principal good that will arise from it is, that it would remove all prejudice about religion, God, and the resurrection!

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The petition of William Cobbett of Kensington, and Henry Hunt of Southwark.

Most humbly sheweth,

That a Bill has just passed the Commons' House of Parliament, which Bill gives authority to overseers, or other persons who have the charge of poor-houses and hospitals, to dispose of (and, of course, to sell) the dead bodies of those paupers and patients who may die in workhouses and hospitals, and whose bodies are not claimed by their relations, those relations giving security that they will, at their own charge, cause the said bodies to be buried.

That your humble petitioners are quite sure, that your Right Honourable House will clearly perceive, that such a law is just the same thing as a law to authorize overseers and hospital-keepers to dispose of the dead bodies of all poor persons whatsoever, dying under their charge; for that the bare fact of the death taking place under such circumstances, is quite enough to convince every one, that the bodies of such poor persons will, on account of the poverty of their relations, never be claimed, especially if the claim be to compel the claimant to give security for defraying the expense of an interment; and that, therefore, this is, in short, a Bill to enable the agents of the rich to dispose of the dead bodies of the most unfortunate of the poor, and that, too, for the benefit of those rich.

That your humble petitioners beg to be permitted to state to your Right Honourable House, that those poor and necessitous persons, whom the law calls paupers, have a clear and undoubted right to be relieved out of the property of the owners and occupiers of the houses and the lands; that this law is, as stated by Blackstone, founded in the principles of civil society; that it has been confirmed by the canon law, by the writings of the Christian fathers, by the law of nations as laid down by civilians, by the common law of England, and lastly, by the statute law of England; and that this right extends to interment after death, according to the rights and ceremonies of the Established Church.

That the unfortunate persons who die in poor-houses and hospitals have, in numerous cases, seen better days, and have, during many years, contributed by direct payments towards the maintenance of the poor and the sick; that those of them who have not thus contributed, have all been, as long as able to work, compelled to pay heavy taxes out of the fruits of their hard labour; that every working man, of whatever description, pays full the one-half of his wages in taxes; and that, therefore, when he becomes so poor, helpless, and destitute, as to die in a poor-house or in a hospital, it is unjust, cruel, barbarous to the last degree, to dispose of his

dead body to be cut up like that of a murderer, and to let him know beforehand, too, that his body is thus to be treated, thereby adding to the pangs of death itself.

That your humble petitioners beseech your Right Honourable House to bear in mind, that, in 1808, a Return, laid before Parliament, stated that upwards of two thousand persons, men, women, and children, belonging to noble or rich families, were receiving annually large sums of money out of the taxes in the shape of pensions and sinecures, and that none of these persons had ever rendered any service to the public for the sums thus by them received; that your petitioner does not think it probable, that a less sum is on this account now paid out of the taxes than was paid in 1808; that, in like manner, large sums of money amounting in the whole to more than a million and a half of pounds sterling, have, within these few years, been given by the Parliament for "*the relief of the poor clergy of the Church of England*;" that those who are now paupers have, during their whole lives, *been paying taxes to support these poor nobles and clergy*; that they have, in fact, for the far greater part, been reduced to a state of pauperism by the taxes, and by the taxes alone; and that those bodies which have been worn out or debilitated by labours performed and privations endured for the benefit of the rich, are now, when breathless, to be sold and cut up for the benefit of those same rich.

That all nations, even the most barbarous, have shown respect for the remains of the dead; that the Holy Scriptures invariably speak of the rites of burial as being honourable, and of the refusal of those rites as an infamous punishment and signal disgrace; that in the 15th chap. of Genesis, 15th verse, it is recorded, that amongst the gracious promises that God made to ABRAHAM, on account of his faith, one was that he should be *buried* in a good old age; that DAVID (2 Samuel chap. 2.), when the men of Jabesh-gilead had *buried* Saul, blessed them for this kindness, and said the Lord would reward them; that the Psalmist, in describing the desolation of Jerusalem by the hands of the heathen, says that these latter had given the dead bodies of the Israelites to be meat unto the fowls of the heavens, that they shed their blood like water, and that there was *none to bury them*, which, he adds, has made the Israelites a reproach to the other nations; that in ECCLESIASTES, chap. 6, verse 3, it is said, that if a man have ever so prosperous and long a life, if he have *no burial* he had better never have been born; that we find by EZEKIEL, chap. 39, that even enemies were to be *buried*, and that if a human bone was found above ground, it was to be deemed a duty to inter it; that the Prophet ISAIAH, chap. 14, says that the King of Babylon shall be kept out of the grave, like an abominable branch, and shall *not be buried*, because he has been a tyrant; that the prophet Jeremiah,

chap. 7 and 8, at the conclusion of a long and terrible denunciation against the Jews, tells them that they *shall not be gathered nor be buried*, and that they shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same Prophet, chap. 14, says, that the people who listen to false prophets shall die of famine and the sword, and *shall have none to bury them*; that the same Prophet, chap. 16, foretelling the ruin of the Jews, says that they shall die of grievous deaths, that they shall not be lamented, *neither shall they be buried*, but shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same Prophet, chap. 22, pronounces judgment on JEHOIAKIM, King of Juda, for covetousness, for shedding innocent blood, for oppression and violence, that he *shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, drawn and cast forth before the gates of Jerusalem; that in the New Testament, we find that *devout* men carried STEPHEN to his burial; and, finally, that by our own burial service and canons we are taught, that to be buried in consecrated ground is a *right* belonging to every person who has been baptized, who is not, at the hour of death, excommunicated, and who has not killed him or herself.

That seeing that such is the language of Holy Writ, your humble petitioner has waited until now, hoping that the Bill in question would be zealously and effectually opposed by the Clergy of the Established Church; that, if the bodies of poor persons can be disposed of and cut up into pieces, without any detriment to our faith, our hope, our religious feeling; if no burial service is at all necessary in these cases, if this be told to the people by this Bill, it is manifest, that that same people will not long think that the burial service can in any case be necessary, and that they will, in a short time, look upon all other parts of the Church service as equally useless; because, as your petitioner presumes, there is no ground whatever for believing in the sacredness of one rite or ceremony any more than in that of another, and that, of course, if the Burial of the Dead can be dispensed with, so may Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

That your humble petitioners are firmly persuaded, that a belief in the resurrection, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, cannot exist for any length of time in a country where human bodies are by law permitted to be disposed of, and that, too, for the avowed purpose of being cut to pieces for the use of the parties acquiring them; and that, therefore, atheism, generally prevalent throughout the country, must be one of the natural consequences of this Bill, if, unhappily, it become a law.

That your humble petitioners hope that your Right Honourable House will perceive, that if this Bill were to become a law, the hatred of the rich by the poor must become implacable and universal, while the latter would be taught by this Bill atheism, and audacity of heart, and familiarity with ferocious

ideas and bloody deeds; and that it would require greater powers of persuasion than even eloquent men generally possess to convince the poor that they ought to be restrained by any thing but want of power, while the same Government which takes from them a large part of their earnings for the support of the rich, condemns their bodies to be disposed of after death, for the benefit of those same rich.

That, for these reasons, your humble petitioners pray, that your Right Honourable House will not pass the Bill aforementioned, but will protect the poor against a species of oppression more odious as well as more cruel and more hostile to feelings of humanity than any ever before heard of in the world.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

London,
22d May, 1829.

WM. COBBETT.
HENRY HUNT.

I HAVE just published, at No. 183, Fleet Street, a translation from the Greek of the celebrated Oration of DEMOSTHENES against LEPTINES. This translation is by DANIEL FRENCH, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. Price 4s. 6d. It is an octavo book, stitched, upon excellent paper, containing a hundred and twenty pages of print.

INDEXES.

GENTLEMEN who are in the habit of keeping the numbers of the Register for the purpose of having them bound up in volumes, must have observed that, for some time, I have published no *Indexes*, and that there are now four volumes wanting these, as well as *Title-pages* and tables of *Contents*. These are all now printed and ready for delivery. The whole four *Indexes*, with their respective *Title-pages* and tables of *Contents*, may be had *separately* for 3d. each, or *all stitched together* for 1s.; but, as it is impossible for me to know what number of readers I have who are so careful as to keep, and have bound up, the Register, I do not know what is likely to be the extent of the demand for these *Indexes*, and, therefore, to guard against any loss by over printing, a very limited number is struck off; and, lest it should be too small a number, the press will be kept standing for a month, from Saturday the 30th of May. Gentlemen

residing in distant parts of the country, in Ireland, and in Scotland, will have ample time to order their indexes before the expiration of a month; and if any neglect to do it, it will be their own faults. I have always hitherto published these things in the *quarter-sheet* attached to the Register, causing no additional expense to my readers; but those readers are aware, that to suit the tastes of the Commissioners of Stamps, I was compelled, some time ago, to change the *form* of the Register, reduce it to a much smaller bulk, and altogether abandon the quarter sheet; and, in short, to make it so small that to publish indexes in it in future would be to occupy more room than I have to spare.

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